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and children. Sometimes, in the absence of his brother in town, a man may be consulted by his brother's wife, but he has no real right over her. For a man to beat his brother's wife or order her about, as is said to be the case among Pondo, is quite unheard of. There is nothing special in the relationship between sisters, except that they may marry the same husband, for, quite apart from considerations of the sororate, it is thought at all times good to marry sisters, who will be less liable to make quarrelsome fellow-wives than unrelated girls. Obligations towards classificatory sisters and brothers, children of the mother's sister or father's brother, are not the same as those to brothers by the same father, and the tie is not nearly so close.

Lovedu society is characterized by a very special relationship between brother and sister, a relationship that is given shape to and maintained by the Lovedu pattern of bride-price involving marriage with the mother's brother's daughter and supplemented by the role of women in the religious system. With this are also bound up the close links between two groups of people, the *vamakhulu* and *vaguhulu*—a man's own people and those of his mother or wife. The linking of uterine brothers and sisters in pairs, in order that the brother may obtain a wife with the cattle received for the sister, creates this special relationship between them and obliges the man to send his daughter to marry at his sister's place. No man will accept a suitor for his daughter until he has ascertained whether his linked sister wants the girl or not, for though in general it is the sister's son who marries the girl, it is the sister who receives a bride to stamp for her and lessen the labours of her old age. The sister has, in fact, a legal right to the girl. If the girl were to run away or be married to some one else, the court would support the father's sister's claim to the girl or the return of the cattle her brother used. Legally, it is even possible for the sister to dissolve the marriage of her brother by demanding back these cattle, but in practice this is rarely found. It is a common custom for a bridal party to call in at the village of the sister, by means of whose cattle the bride has been obtained, 'to show her the girl who is to bear a bride for her son'. A goat will then be slaughtered by her husband for the bridal party to show their pleasure in the marriage. A value that is constantly being expressed in Lovedu society is that it is fitting and desirable for a girl to 'cook for' her father's sister.

The house of the brother is thought to have been created by the sister whose cattle made the marriage possible. That is why, when he builds a new village, it is the sister who has to draw the magic circle of protection which renders it safe from witches. When the sister visits her old home, it is in the house of this wife that she will 'put her things' and make herself at home and, when she is called to beer, she will be given a special pot in the house of this wife. The sister even wields a certain amount of authority in the house of her brother, as was well illustrated at a gathering we attended where the man of the house was quarrelling with his wife about an uninvited guest. In the midst of the uproar a voice was heard: 'This is my village which I have built. I will have no unseemly behaviour here.' It was the sister rebuking her brother, who subsided immediately and went on with the ceremonial as if nothing had happened. So strong

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602 son (whom she has always with her). The mother's side of the family,
no doubt because of this love, are thought to be peculiarly suited to the
[736] rearing of a child whose mother has died. Such a child is, in Lovedu
society, never left in the hands of a fellow wife of its mother, but goes to
its mother's mother, if she is alive, or its mother's brother or even a
mother's sister—any one, in fact, an the mother's side who is kind-hearted
enough to wish to rear an orphan.

604 In constrast to Shangana-Tonga, there is in Lovedu society no joking
relationship between a man and his mother's brother. Your mother's
brother may be kind to you, but you have to show him respect: if he
asks you to go on a message or to help him in the fields you cannot
refuse; while, if he needs you, you may be sent to herd for him or help
nurse his small children. Moreover, he may one day be your father-in-
605 law and his wife your mother-in-law. The people whom one is privileged
to tease to one's heart's content, and with whom one may exchange ribald
jokes, are one's cross-cousins, the children of one's mother's brother and
father's sister or their children, cross-cousins once-removed, a generation
below. When very young, a child may be conditioned to this type of
easy relationship by being given a stick and told, 'Go and beat your
cross-cousin. Show him your cousinhood,' whereupon he is expected
playfully to beat his cousin. If the cousin cries, they will pacify him,
saying, 'Gracious! How can you cry? Don't you know it's your cousin?
You too can beat him some other time.' Or they will give him a stick and
say, 'Go and avenge yourself.' Whenever one finds people behaving
uproariously in each other's company or calling out vulgar jokes, one
can be quite sure they are cross-cousins. Cross-cousins marry each
●[582] other; but while cases of a man marrying his father's sister's daughter
sometimes occur, specially in the royal family, they are regarded as not
quite regular and mother's brother's daughter marriage is by far the most
usual. When a man tries to make love to his father's sister's daughter,
she may tease him, saying, 'Away with you. We marry you, not you us.
We are the husbands who find wives in your family.' The joking relation-
[584] ship between a man and his cousin gives place, immediately marriage
negotiations are begun, to one of strict avoidance between prospective
bride and groom and a certain amount of respect even between the boys
in the two families. Men say they can often tell by the attitude of their
cross-cousin that there is an understanding between him and their sister
even before negotiations have begun.

602 Relatives-in-law are quite as important as relatives by blood. Where
marriage with the mother's brother's daughter has taken place, the
marriage strengthens an existing blood link, giving far greater meaning
and intimacy to the bond. The importance of relatives-in-law lies in the
fact that there is conceived to be a lasting bond between the two families
for generations to come, since where a man has married there his son will
find a wife. The bond is kept alive by various social usages, not least
among which is the beer that is always passing (about once a year, unless
the harvest is bad) from the village of the wife's family to that of their
son-in-law. Moreover, a man's relatives-in-law become to his children
the mother's side of the family, which plays so important a part

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associated institutions. In these circumstances, it is patently absurd for us to orientate ourselves as if marriage affects only personal relationships between two individuals. To regard marriage as primarily a sexual partnership or even as an institution for promoting the procreation and rearing of children is to misunderstand completely its great role in the social organization.

As the main function of marriage is to create and perpetuate alliances between groups of people, sexual or temperamental compatibility between the prospective spouses is not regarded as an ideal. Emphasis on romantic love, and pre-marital sexual experimentation, with a view to testing out compatibility, would be incongruous with the prevailing type of marriage. Mate selection in its ideal form is socially regulated, and the ideal form is the basic pattern of all marriages. The social organization determines whom one shall marry, and the parents, not the individuals concerned, set the machinery of the organization into motion. The ideal marriage is marriage of a man with his mothers' brother's daughter or of a woman with her father's sister's son. This does not mean that all cross-cousins are preferred mates. It is, for instance, considered irregular for a man to marry his father's sister's daughter; that cases of such marriages are found should not surprise us. There are irregularities in every sphere of culture, and the rules of mate selection are particularly liable to be upset because of the complex interrelations that arise in the social system. The fundamental rule is that a man must marry, not the daughter of any brother of his mother, but the daughter of that brother who has used his mother's marriage cattle to obtain a wife for himself. His mother and his mother's brother are cattle-linked sister and brother because, when she married, the cattle that came in were handed to the brother for obtaining a wife: the cattle of the sister are said to 'build a hut for her brother'. We may thus say that a man must marry a daughter of his cattle-linked maternal uncle, and we may call her his 'cattle-linked cross-cousin'.

But the Lovedu phrase the matter rather differently and more significantly. They say that the sister has 'built the house of her brother' (the cattle-linked brother), that therefore she 'has a gate' by which she may enter his house, this gate being 'the gate which the cattle seek', and that it is her right to demand from the 'house built by her cattle' a daughter who must come to her as her daughter-in-law to stamp and cook for her. Note that the right is not phrased as the right of her son to obtain his wife from that house; note further that the right is in respect of the house—that is, of the wife of the cattle-linked brother, not in respect of the brother. That wife is the *muvoyi* (returner) of the sister, the person who is obliged to return her daughter to the place whence the cattle came; and it does not matter if in the house of the sister there is no son to marry this daughter. The *muvoyi* must send her daughter if requested, and, if cattle are offered, to be the daughter-in-law of her husband's cattle-linked sister, whether that sister has a son or not; for it is the sister's right to be served and helped, especially in her old age, by the daughter of the house which she has established. The ideal is that a girl should not be married to her father's sister's husband or, in

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other words, that a man should not marry his wife's brother's daughter. But one finds a suggestive number of cases of this marriage and, what is noteworthy is that even to-day a girl still jokingly calls her father's sister's husband *munna* (husband) and, it is said, not long ago regularly called him 'husband', while the girl's own husband was 'child' (*ŋwana*) to her. These vestiges may reflect a rather different system, not unknown in tribes further north which Lovedu *munywalo* arrangements have reshaped.

The sister may, as we have said, demand that her cattle-linked brother send his daughter either to be the wife of her son or, if she has no son, to be her daughter-in-law and, in the latter case, the sister 'marries' her cattle-linked brother's daughter on behalf of a supposititious son. If the demand is not acceded to, whether the reason be that the daughter refuses to go or her parents refuse to fulfil their obligation, the results may be disastrous. The sister (or her husband) may 'pull down the house she built at her brother's' by taking back her cattle, and she may give them to some one else who will establish a house that is prepared to fulfil its obligations; or, if the cattle have already passed on, in the chain of exchanges, from the wife of the cattle-linked brother to that wife's brother or, further still, the 'roots of the cattle' may be 'followed', perhaps involving the snapping of the chain at several points. The whole system of interrelations created by the cattle may, in such a case, be thrown out of gear and the repercussions may be so widespread that the whole country is said 'to be spoilt'. There are, however, many safety devices and the genius for effecting compromises ensures the isolation of the stresses and strains to manageable limits.

The ideal form of marriage, that of a man with his cattle-linked cross-cousin, turns out to be an inevitable consequence of the whole social system, the ground pattern of which is determined by kinship obligations though the detailed arrangements are regulated by the cattle-linking exchanges. It is conceived of not so much as a cross-cousin marriage as of a niece performing an obligation towards her cattle-linked aunt. The conception of a marriage is not wholly submerged, but it stands out far less boldly than the conception of the duty of a niece to love, cherish, and obey her cattle-linked aunt. The central feature, the pivot upon which the whole system is conceived to turn, is the passing of the cattle from a sister, by whose marriage they come in, to her uterine brother, to be used by him for the purpose of acquiring a wife; and from the wife of the brother they pass on to her uterine brother and so on *ad infinitum*. Brother and sister of the same house are cattle-linked, but each is also linked to a partner by the marriage validated by the cattle. The sister-brother cattle link and the husband-wife marriage-plus-cattle link form a continuous chain from sister to brother to wife of brother to brother of wife of brother and so on, which is doubled and redoubled in the second generation, when the same interlinking takes place and the son of the sister marries the daughter of the brother, the brother receiving cattle and the sister a daughter-in-law, while the son of the brother marries the daughter of the brother of his wife. It will be noticed that the three essential links are those between brother and

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sister, between husband and wife and between cattle-linked cross-cousins, and these links, as well as the whole network of subsidiary links, arise from the implications of marriage and cattle-linking. The brothers who receive the cattle from the sisters return daughters to them and again receive cattle; the brothers become the nucleus of a group providing brides, and hence, from the point of view of the sisters and their children, they are the brides or parents-in-law (*vamakhulu*), while the sister's husbands are, from the point of view of the brothers and their children, the group supplying bridegrooms (*vatsɔ̀ɔ̀*) or sons-in-law (*vaɓuhulu*). The *vamakhulu* give brides and receive cattle; the *vaɓuhulu* give cattle and receive brides.

That is the complex network in which cross-cousin marriage is enmeshed. Cattle-linked cross-cousins are said to be 'born for' one another; a man is said to marry where his father has married, a woman is said to go to her father's sister (thus marrying where the latter has married). Actually over 60 per cent. of the men marry the cattle-linked cross-cousin 'born for them'; and she, whether married first or last, becomes the chief wife. This means that she bears the chief son. It may happen that she is not married at all during the lifetime of the man she was 'born for'; she may be too young or he may die prematurely; yet she will be the wife who must, for any important purpose, bear the chief son. If the husband 'born for her' has died or never comes into existence, and a successor to him is required in any position of importance, such as headship of a district, she will nevertheless be married to him; the cattle will pass and he who 'enters' will be some one else, chosen not by her, but by the group of the bridegrooms or, more precisely, the house of the non-existent bridegroom (which in practice more often than not means the mistress of that house). Of course, the system is not inflexible. When nothing of importance as regards status or position is at stake or, if the girl is headstrong and refuses to allow the chosen one to enter, she may 'pick up children in the bush'. But she has no right to marry any one else, though sometimes she is inherited by the brother of her supposititious spouse as if she were a widow; sometimes she merely goes to cook for her cattle-linked aunt and there bears children as if she were the chief wife of that aunt's son.

It is only a step from this situation to the further elaboration that allows a woman to marry a wife, not for her son, but for herself. If the system logically implies that a woman may have in her service a husbandless daughter-in-law doing all the work of a wife, by a slight extension of this conception she may actually marry a wife. There is ample precedent for this elaboration in the fact that the queen has wives; she is their 'husband' and to the children of her wives she is 'father' (*vubabe*). This model is followed by other women, especially women of importance and women who, as doctors and potters, have cattle of their own with which to obtain wives. In general, however, such women call their wife 'daughter-in-law', as though they had been married, not for themselves, but on behalf of a son.

It is not only these peculiar elaborations that result from the pivotal institutions of cattle-linked brother and sister and 'being born' for one

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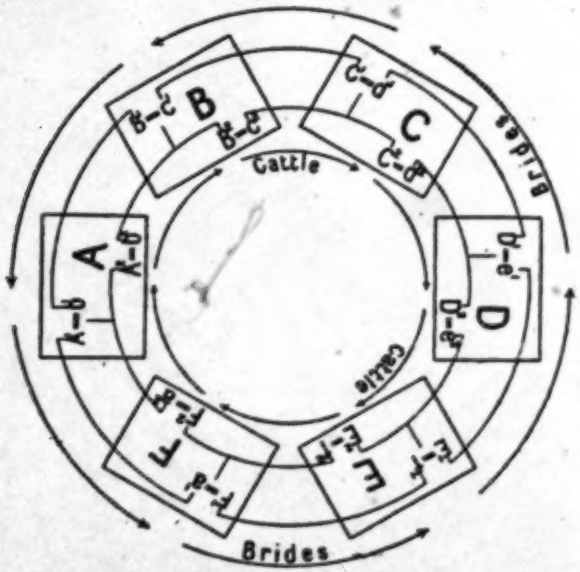
another. On the one hand, the whole marriage ceremonial is based upon the assumption that it should subserve these primary arrangements; and, on the other hand, the range of permissible marriages (except marriage outside the kin) is circumscribed by their logical implications. We shall turn first to the preferential marriages. A marriage is obligatory or approved, or discouraged or strongly disapproved or absolutely interdicted, quite apart from considerations of incest, according as it strengthens and upholds or harmonizes with or strains or to a lesser or greater degree conflicts with the foundations and superstructure of the edifice erected by the cattle. We must conceive of the bonds of reciprocity between cattle-linked brothers and sisters extending eventually to the whole *manywalo* chain, which from one point of view is a chain of cattle and from another a chain of brides and bridegrooms. The cattle move in one direction, the brides in the opposite direction.



At the risk of over-simplification, we may represent the position by the diagram above, though it must be clearly understood that nothing so definite and regular will be found in the society, nor does the chain in practice form the complete ring represented for greater convenience in the diagram. The six rectangles represent, not complete patrilineal lineages, but nuclei in the patrilineal lineages of A, B, C, D, E and F. Thus A^2 is that son of the house A^1b^1 who marries where his father father A^1 married, viz. a daughter b^2 of the house B^1c^1 which has been built by the cattle coming in by the marriage of b^1 and passing to her brother B^2. If we may call the houses A^1b^1 and B^1c^1 cattle-linked, we may designate the houses A^1b^1 and A^2b^2 cattle-descent houses. The cattle-descent houses then constitute the nuclei of

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582 the patrilineal rectangles, while the links between the cattle-linked houses are the primary links between these nuclei. Each nucleus, it will be observed, is linked to its immediate neighbours on the right as well as on the left. To the left it sends brides and in return receives cattle (e.g. a^2 goes to marry F^2 and the cattle for her are received by the house A^1b^1); to the right it sends the cattle so received and in return receives brides (i.e. the cattle coming in from the marriage of a^2 and received by the house A^1b^1 pass on to the house B^1c^1, whence a daughter b^2 is returned as a bride of A^2). Thus brides move continuously from the right to the left, but ordinarily only between two immediately adjacent nuclei, while cattle move right round in a clockwise manner, so that the same cattle or their offspring are in turn used by A, B, C, D, and so on. It will also be seen that each nucleus is both doubly obligated and doubly entitled. A is bride-obligated to F and cattle-obligated to B; but A is also bride-entitled in respect of B and cattle-entitled in respect of F. These are the primary reciprocal relations, but they are extended by the operation of kinship bonds beyond the nuclei of cattle-descent houses—that is, from the core of the lineage they extend to the whole lineage. The cattle-descent houses in the rectangle F, which is the group of bridegrooms in respect of A, are the core of A's sons-in-law (*vaduhulu*); while B similarly are the core of A's parents-in-law (*vamakhulu*) because the brides of A come from B. The core is segregated out from the larger groups by the arrangements implied in the *munywalo* system.

The vast implications of this system need not be further elaborated. But from the point of view of preferential marriages some points may be referred to. Difficulties obviously arise where in the cattle-descent houses there is an unequal number of daughters and sons. The primary cattle-linking of brother and sister, which is the pivot of the system and of the strongly institutionalized reciprocity pattern between uterine brother and sister, is necessarily thrown out of alinement by such an inequality. If in any house there are more sons than daughters, some of the sons may have to receive the cattle they need, not from their uterine sisters, but from elsewhere. Should the cattle be acquired by their own labours or the labours of their parents, there need be no upsets, for the sons may continue to marry into the group where their father married. But a new alliance may be dictated by a variety of circumstances and in that case new alinements are created: the son and his descendants become a new cattle-descent nucleus, cattle-obligated to the group whence the son's wife came. The cattle for the marriage of a son may, however, come from a relative, and in that case the simple primary arrangements of the whole system become greatly complicated.

To attempt an analysis of the complications is beyond our present purpose. All we need point out is that, provided the cattle come from the right direction (in the diagram from the left) the essential pattern is maintained and the marriages that logically follow upon the basic principle, that where a man receives cattle he must send brides, are approved. Suppose, for instance, that A^2 has no sister and hence is given the cattle that come in from the marriage of a^1, his father's sister; in that case A^2 must send his daughter to marry a^1's son F^1, and F^1 marries his cattle-

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linked cross-cousin-once-removed (*mudzwalatzwalwa*)—that is, his mother's brother's son's daughter. This is a common and strongly approved arrangement, for the cattle-descent houses maintain their dispositions towards one another, brides from A still go to F, and cattle still move from F to A—in short, this is merely a variation upon the fundamental theme. Suppose the house A^1b^1 has only daughters, the most approved arrangement would be for b^1 to send some of the cattle to B^1, her brother, who establishes a second house from which daughters-in-law may come, and to use some to set up a house of a supposititious son through whom the cattle-descent nucleus may be continued. But if A^1 used the cattle to obtain a second wife for himself complications arise, both in the *munyusalo* arrangements and in the relationship between A^1's daughter and his second wife, for, though this second wife is the daughter's *mmasi* (small mother), the daughter has rights over that *mmasi*'s house, rights of authority incompatible with the status of a daughter. Yet the essential *munyusalo* configuration, though greatly complicated, is maintained, and the arrangement is possible, though not approved. What is really surprising is an arrangement that, upon the pattern of cross-cousin marriage, appears legitimate, but turns out to be absolutely prohibited. It is said that 'two sisters cannot eat one another's property'—that is, the cattle accruing to the house of one sister though the marriage of her daughter cannot be used to provide a wife for the son of the other sister. The reason for this rule lies again in the *munyusalo* configuration. If the two sisters have married into the same cattle-descent lineage, the one will be giving cattle to the other, who must return brides, and the same lineage will be both cattle- and bride-obligated to itself; if, on the other hand, they have married into different lineages, the reciprocities arising in respect of giving cattle or brides are incompatible with their possibly generations-old configuration.

Whether the system described in outline is the result of the merging of cattle exchanges and antecedent intermarrying lineages or of an elaboration of the arrangements implied in the cattle-linking of brothers and sisters superimposed upon cross-cousin marriage, it is unnecessary to determine. We are merely concerned to indicate how mate selection is regulated by its fundamental principles and thus harmonizes as completely as possible with the social organization. A man cannot marry his father's sister's daughter, because such marriage reverses cattle- and bride-giving reciprocities. But this type of marriage, though rare, does occur, and the irregularity illustrates the extreme complications in the system. Marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, which does not disturb the fundamental alinements, is quite regular; but marriage with the wife's brother's wife is impossible, as in Lovedu phraseology it is tantamount to taking back one's cattle. Seizure of this wife is a method, however, of vicariously bringing pressure to bear upon the lineage of the wife's brother, should one's wife desert. For by taking her, which is usually done only by order of court, one breaks the link between the wife's brother and the people of his wife. The wife's brother, having been deprived of his wife, can claim back his cattle from her people, and so is enabled to return the cattle to his sister's husband, thereby releasing

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582 his wife. The measure is a drastic means of getting back one's cattle, and negatives any conception of marrying the wife's brother's wife.

582 602 The *mavyualo* configuration is, of course, incompatible with brother-sister exchange; the cattle cannot both come from and go into the same direction. So also does it exclude marriage of ortho-cousins, though complications introduced by reckoning relationship though the queen as if she were a male and the stress upon maintaining the purity of the royal blood lead to arrangements that appear to be based on such marriages. The children of all the queen's wives are brothers and sisters, but unless their natural fathers are identical, the formal relationship recedes before the physiological, and these brothers and sisters can and do intermarry. Moreover, in the society generally and especially among royal kin, a man may be related to another man or to a woman in many ways; what they will call one another depends upon status or rank or arrangements agreed upon between the families, and is often determined by personal choices and adjustments. A man who wishes to 'play with' his classificatory sister (reckoning relationship through, say, the father) will call her cross-cousin (reckoning relationship through, perhaps, the mother). How such a situation can arise is at once clear when we remember that a man may have a woman as his legal father, even taking her lineage name; but it arises in many other ways, such as the tremendous entanglements in the *mavyualo* system. Among many neighbouring tribes a special ritual of 'cutting the kin' sometimes makes possible the marriage of incestuously related mates; among the Lovedu such a device is unknown. Many tribes have a highly developed technique of love [533] charms; the Lovedu regard love charms as illegal, akin to sorcery and witchcraft, though there is one interesting exception, a rite based upon a religious pattern. Resort to love charms, except in the service of the arrangements of the social structure, would obviously strike at the basis of the conception that spouses are 'born for' one another.

513 We may now turn very briefly to the marriage ceremonial which, in harmony with the leading part played by the institution it supports, is one of the most impressive features of Lovedu life. Apart from its function of transferring the cattle and laying the foundations of a structure within which the greater part of human interrelations are enacted, the ceremonial stresses many values unconnected with marriage. The general plan of the ceremonial is patterned to the needs of the ideal form of marriage, that with the cattle-linked cross-cousin. In some neighbouring tribes, a man must bespeak his cross-cousin by paying a special beast; in others he must hand over an additional beast for her; but among the Lovedu all marriages are arranged on the one model, as if there were no other competing forms of marriage. Because the girl is said 'to be 514 born' for the boy, his parents simply send the 'goat of the skin cradle' to intimate that he is coming. It is a most appropriate action for, as she is 'born for' him, his people must provide the wherewithal in which to carry her, the cradle symbolizing nursing, tender care, and upbringing. Marriages to strangers, nevertheless, are initiated in the same way, as if the conception of being 'born for' the boy and its implications were projected upon them. It is only in the case of cross-cousin marriage that

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881 794 established. Sometimes a school in which boys receive cuts on either side of the face, it is associated also with rain ritual and with the *dajane* or ancestral spirits who come to earth and speak in a whistling, wailing manner.

794 An interesting feature of the Northern Transvaal is the tendency for private people, strangers from tribes who have certain schools, to set up schools with the permission of the chiefs in areas where they are not known. People are always willing to join them, and they are a source of great profit to the holder. Thus the Dikxale of the High-veld have no *komana*; but a Narene man who has come to live in the area has brought *komana* drums and holds schools to which many Dikxale go.

836 837 [684] [695] [684] SEX MORALITY AND MARRIAGE. Sex morality among Lowveld tribes conforms to the general pattern found over South Africa in having pre-marital sex intercourse as an institution fully approved of by society as long as no children are born. Furthermore, adultery, which is an everyday occurrence, is not looked upon as serious in any way unless the parties are indiscreet and are discovered. Widows, especially, are recognized as easy prey to male advances even though they have been inherited by the husband's brother. The fine attached to adultery is usually one head of cattle; but the general laxness is better illustrated in the attitude found among the Narene, where there is no fine attached to adultery, though a man caught in the act will send something to the husband to beg pardon. In court, the bare word of a woman accusing a man of adultery is always accepted. Seduction of a young girl is a much more serious offence than adultery, with the correspondingly higher fine attached to it of two head of cattle and a goat, and realization that marriage is much more than a sexual relationship between the parties concerned is shown in the fact that far from trying to promote marriage between the parties concerned, the parents of the girl will refuse any alliance with a boy whose people they do not consider suitable.

582 [71] Like all Sotho peoples, the Lowveld tribes have the institution of preferred marriage with certain relatives, in contrast to the Zulu-Xhosa with whom marriage with any related person is taboo. Fully 40 per cent. of all marriages are, in our Lowveld area, with the

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mother's brother's daughter, and in contrast to all surrounding Sotho tribes, Pedi to the south and Highveld tribes to the west where it is common, marriage with the father's brother's daughter is not considered possible. Cross-cousin marriage with the father's sister's daughter is known only among the Lobedu, where it is common within the royal clan, Khaha, where it is rare, and Moila's Venda. The prevalence of marriage with the mother's brother's daughter by which a girl is said to be 'born for' a son of a certain house and knows all her life she will marry there, has been a stabilizing influence leading to very much less illegitimacy resulting from the absence in towns of young men than is found in other areas where this type of marriage has broken down. A girl knows she will have to 'cook for' her father's sister, her future mother-in-law (indeed there is a definite moral value attached to this), and even in the absence of her husband-to-be will be married by the family. If, as a young married woman she has a child in the absence of her husband, it is an irregularity without serious social consequences. On the death of a spouse, sororate and levirate are common; marriage with the wife's brother's daughter is found where the wife is barren or dead, and full inheritance of a young wife of one's own father is quite common.

The custom of a woman being 'married' by a woman, so common in the Lowveld, is one often misunderstood by Europeans. Since a girl is 'born for' the son of her father's sister whose cattle made her father's marriage and her own birth possible, her father's sister may, even if she has no son, nevertheless 'marry' the girl, who will come and cook for her and have children by some appointed relative or by private lovers of her own choice. It is possible, though much rarer, for a woman rich in cattle to 'marry' a non-relative.

Though in the Lowveld as elsewhere the person responsible for payment of bride-price in a man's first marriage is his father or guardian and brothers and sisters are usually coupled, the cattle for the girl being used by the boy, it is not customary in the Lowveld, as is the case elsewhere, for any other relative to contribute. Here, when a man has no cattle, instead of begging from various relatives, he will proceed to 'show the knee' to a man rich in cattle, i.e., he will borrow cattle on the understanding that his first daughter will

4: Krige and Krige E-5 (1928-1939)1954
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creating and maintaining the all-important social relationships and realignments in the social structure that arise from marriage. Cattle are not 'gods with the wet nose' as among Tswana, but they may be dedicated to the ancestor spirits.

The economy is largely a subsistence one. A man should have enough for his family's needs as well as to entertain friends and neighbours with beer to maintain his good name and reputation for liberality, and to fulfil his kinship obligations. But accumulation of goods is frowned upon: in any case, in the absence of markets or methods of preservation of the crops, an economic incentive is lacking. Payment for most services, even that of a doctor, is made in beer. Exchanges on the whole are usually not motivated by differential needs but by goodwill, the obligations of kinship, and the general emphasis upon long-run reciprocity; they are for the most part not business transactions but gift exchanges. Kin and neighbours co-operate in work parties for weeding, reaping, building. Helpers are honoured as workers (*vashumi*) and treated to beer at the end of the day, yet they cannot be said to receive any specific reward, for the gate-crashers (*vahobedi* or beggars), who join the party when it repairs to the home of the host for beer, drink calabash for calabash with the workers. In ploughing partnerships, in which each of the parties contributes his services or some commodity, there is complete disregard of equivalence between what is contributed by a partner and the service he is entitled to. Reciprocity operates through the instrumentality of economic goods, but it owes its significance as a moral force to the interdependences that arise from the social and political structure.

The society is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal, but cognates, agnates, and affines are not segregated into distinctive groups; each category overlaps to such an extent with the others, through cross-cousin marriage and other factors, that both structurally and functionally it is the bilateral kin-groups that are significant.

One of the basic features of the social system is the linking of brother and sister whereby the cattle (*munywalo*) coming in from the marriage of a sister are allocated to her brother to enable him to marry a wife. This cattle-linking of brother and sister is co-ordinated with cross-cousin marriage and an alignment of lineages into wife-providers and wife-receivers. That a man is expected to marry where his father has married or, more accurately, where his mother's marriage cattle have been used to establish a 'home', is the inevitable consequence, according to Lovedu conceptions, of the right of a sister to her cattle-linked brother's daughter as a daughter-in-law, who will cook and stamp for her and care for her in her old age. The arrangement implies that this girl should marry the son of the cattle-linked sister of her father, but should there be no such son her paternal aunt may nevertheless 'marry' her, in which case she will bear children by some person appointed by the aunt to act for her non-existent son or 'pick them up' as she wishes.

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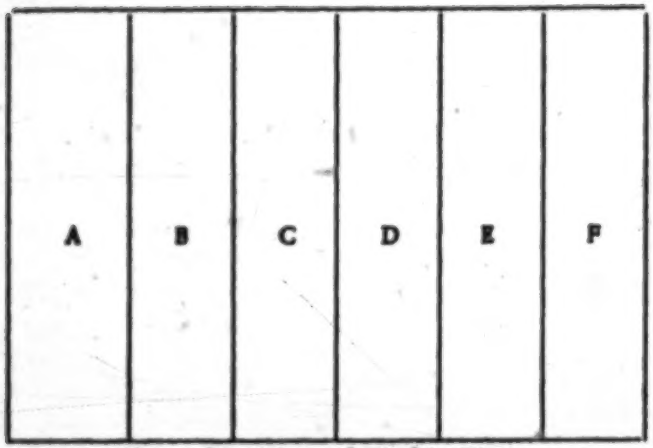

Chart of Positions of Kinship Diagram.

[This chart refers to the contents of Appendix I of the text, found on pp. 193-195. See category 116.--Analyst]

[Facing kinship diagram.]

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642 631 634 644 662 643 559 588 units which, each under a headman, enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy.[1] A large proportion of these districts into which the country is divided are ruled by the descendants of original sections of the nuclear group; a few have been allocated to alien groups under their own headmen while some are held by royal women, *batanoni* or 'wives' of the queen. Many districts now held by commoners originated from *batanoni* but since women do not succeed one another as heads of districts these have been inherited by their sons of husbands given to them by the queen. Royal wives (*batanoni*) are of various kinds. Some are of royal blood, daughters of close relatives of the queen to whom they have been given as a token of homage (*ho loba*). Only these are set up by the queen as rulers over districts. (Women may also rule areas in their own right where there is no male heir, as we shall see). Other royal wives are 644 643 559 538 the daughters of district heads, while a number are daughters of foreign chiefs who come, sometimes with cattle, sometimes with money or a daughter to *loba* the queen for rain. Once a [582] woman from within the tribe has been accepted by the queen as a royal wife, the tie is renewed from generation to generation [634] on the pattern of cross-cousin marriage. Men may offer a daughter to the queen also in return for, or in the expectation of, economic help or political favour (though these are not always accepted) and there is a tendency today for districts to be subdivided into smaller and smaller units to satisfy the political aspirations of ambitious subjects. Royal wives bind to the queen not only her closest relatives but most of the important people in the tribe. Some wives are given away in marriage to her councillors, relatives and district headmen. [836] Some remain with her and have allocated lovers. Children of [602] these latter call the queen 'father' and she is responsible for helping them to marry.

563 613 The Lobedu proper appear originally to have regarded themselves as an aristocracy but today it is only the royal lineage (*ba Mohale*) and a number of important Lobedu district heads that are looked up to. Many non-Lobedu lineages have, by virtue of marriage links through royal wives, a higher status and are more closely related to the queen than sections of Lobedu themselves.

[1] For a general account of the Lobedu, see Krige, E. J. 1941, Krige, E. J. and J. D., 1943 and 1950, and Krige, J. D., 1939.

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The lineage has no distinguishing name, the term *mohuo* or *leloko* which is in common use referring to the group of agnates as well as to the relatives on the mother's side of the family. The lineage segment of four to five generations tracing its descent from a common male ancestor (grandfather of the adult males) shares a common major shrine and occasionally meets at the harvest thanksgiving or when a *mokhobo* (a gathering of the descendants of a particular common ancestor) is indicated by the diviner as the wish of a troublesome spirit. Such a group of agnates of four to five generations in depth tends to be concentrated in the same locality and in many cases may be found in the same homestead (*motse*). As neighbours and relatives they share in many common activities such as helping in each other's work-parties, taking part in girls' puberty ceremonies, consulting each other in the marriage of their sons and daughters. Only in the minimal lineage of father and sons are there jural ties. The lineage is not a land-owning unit, has no political functions, is not exogamous, marriage within the lineage being common especially in the Lobedu royal group.

An interesting feature of the Lobedu lineage is the important part played by its women who continue even after marriage to be active in lineage affairs as leaders in religious ritual and as guardians over their brothers' households. The merging of the ancestors on the father's and mother's side of the family which results from preferential marriage with the mother's uterine brother's daughter and the inclusion in ancestor worship of relatives on both sides, which will be described later, also affect the character of the lineage. A religious gathering (*mokhobo*) of the descendants of Sekhobo which I attended showed the lineage segment of five generations in operation and illustrated some of these points. Descendants through both sons and daughters in the line of Sekhobo's chief wife took part in the ceremony and, in addition to calling upon the deceased father and other male ascendants of the head of the lineage, the officiator mentioned by name also the deceased father's uterine sisters and the father's mother. The inclusion of the father's mother was all the more remarkable because this was a gathering of the descendants of Sekhobo and it had been the specific complaint of the troubling ancestor that every year harvest beer was being offered to the spirits on the father's mother's

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see. But the fruits of her labour go to swell the property only of that unit of the lineage which constitutes the wife's own 'house', the independence and rights of which must be respected even by the husband.

Bride-price generally consists of some five to eight head of cattle, a number of goats and money (to the extent of at least £5). Today people sometimes pay a sum of money instead of cattle—£40 in a recent marriage. This represents eight head of cattle, bride-price cattle having been regarded as equivalent to £5 each, irrespectively of market prices, for the past fifty years at least. The amount given is, however, never a fixed one as the passing of bride-price initiates a continuous relationship of gift exchange between the two families concerned and the marriage puts the bridegroom under a lifelong obligation to extend economic help to his wife's people. '*Monoalo a o fede*—bride-price is never completed', it is said. When the wife's people have to pay a fine, if they need cattle or goats for the marriage of a son, they will approach their *tsetse* (or *mudukulu*)—son-in-law. The man who has provided a wife has given something 'bigger than cattle' and is in this sense in a superior position. On the other hand the son-in-law (*mudukulu*) or wife-receiver is accorded great honour by his wife's people and once a year at least receives a gift of beer and grain. The relationship is one of reciprocity and the son-in-law must for his part also show respect for his wife's people. He must ever be ready to grant their requests and may never refuse. There is no evidence for Leach's suggestion that the Lobedu have a 'kind of Kachin structure in reverse' with a 'strong tendency for the wife-receiving group to rank the higher'.[1] In endogamous unions in the Lobedu royal group both husband and wife may be members of the same lineage. Lobedu society is, moreover, not a stratified society though the royal lineage enjoys great prestige.

Fully to understand Lobedu marriage one must approach it also from the point of view of the woman. Usually a uterine brother marries a wife with the cattle that have accrued from his sister's marriage. This sometimes happens in other tribes too. But where the Lobedu situation seems to be distinctive is that every woman whose marriage-cattle have been used to

[1] Leach, 1951.

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provide a bride, whether for a brother or other relative or even a stranger, has a moral right to a daughter-in-law from the 'house' established by her cattle. Even though it was her husband who provided the cattle and it is usually he who is said to be 'following the tracks of his cattle' when such a girl is obtained for his son, the wife's right to the services of the girl are such that even if the husband himself, instead of the son, were to marry this girl (which quite often is the case, i.e., wife's brother's daughter marriage) this bride would be attached to her house and would cook for her as though she were the mother-in-law.

So strong is a woman's moral right to her cattle-linked brother's daughter to come and cook for her in her old age that even if she has no son she can, especially if her husband is dead, 'marry' the girl herself, using a daughter's bride-price. The Lobedu themselves phrase it as marriage of a woman to a woman. In reality it is in this case the marriage of a girl to a fictitious son of the woman who is said to be marrying her. Such a bride is called *segi* (daughter-in-law) by the woman, who is 'grandmother', to any children born to the girl. The children take the surname of the husband of the woman just as though her son had married the girl. A woman who practises as a doctor and earns money can marry a girl with her own cattle. Here too the children (whether by an allocated man or born 'in the bush') take the lineage name of the husband of the woman who 'married' their mother. They are of his lineage but belong essentially to the 'house' (*motse*) of the woman who married their mother.

A woman may also 'marry' a girl on behalf of her own lineage —for a deceased or non-existent brother. This is done where an heir is needed or where a brother has died before marrying the girl who was 'born for' or engaged to him as in the case of Thepize in Figure 1.

It is the source of the cattle that pass which determines the lineage to which the children belong in woman-marriage. Should the cattle come from the 'house' of a married woman the children belong to the husband's lineage; if they come from the family of procreation of the woman the children take her father's surname. The queen and women who rule districts on behalf of a deceased or non-existent brother are called 'husband'

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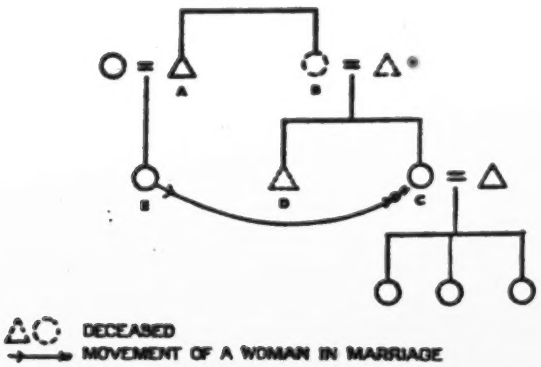

FIG. 1. Case illustrating 'marriage' of a woman to a woman.

Thepize's father (A) was the cattle-linked, uterine brother of (B) the mother of Mandike (C), a married woman with children. Mandike's brother (D), whose parents were dead, had been engaged to Thepize (E), his mother's brother's daughter, and cattle had already passed when he, too, died. So Thepize's father (A) took his daughter (E) to Mandike (C), and said: 'Take Thepize and "stay" with her'. So, as it was phrased, Mandike 'married' Thepize (*o mo bekile*), who came to live in Mandike's husband's village. Mandike (C) called Thepize (E) not '*nesi*' (daughter-in-law) but '*mohadibo*' (sister-in-law); E's children called C '*rakhadi*' (father's sister) and took her father's surname.

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(*monna wa ka*) by their '*wives*' *batanoni* when they marry on behalf of their own lineage and *papa* (father) by the children of these wives, just as though they were m[illegible]n. In ritual matters, however, they act as women.

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Preferential marriage with the mother's brother's daughter appears in the Lobedu context almost to follow from relationships established by the cattle that pass and the rights of the sister to a daughter-in-law from whoever has used her marriage cattle. Yet it is not always from the identical 'house' that was established by the cattle that a daughter is sent in marriage, nor necessarily by the same brother as used the cattle. Maseriba's bride-price was used by her brother Andrew. Thirty years later (1961) when she went to ask for a girl to 'come and stamp for her' (she is a widow and has no sons) it was the daughter of Batamedi, her other uterine brother, that was offered. When

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asked about this the reply was not as I expected it to be, that Andrew's daughters were attending school and would be averse to such a marriage but 'we just gave Kewele to Maseriba because she is *khadi* (i.e., sister in a ritual sense) and "to knit together the family" (*ho ruka leloko*)'. This desire to keep alive the links between brother and sister and to maintain and renew marriage links with women of the lineage from one generation to another is very strong. The marriage of a woman at her father's sister's (i.e., mother's brother's daughter marriage) is called '*ho dzosa moloko*'—to awaken or renew relationship.

There are several variations of mother's brother's daughter marriage that arise from or are bound up with obligations connected with cattle that have passed. If in the case of cattle-linked brother and sister (D and C in Figure 2a), the latter has a daughter but no son who could marry her brother's daughter, she might, rather than break the link with her brother and allow her husband to use the cattle to create new links with strangers, nevertheless, with the agreement and consent of her husband, hand over her daughter E's bride-price to her brother D so that he can marry a second wife and establish a 'house' from which her daughter E may claim a woman later to marry her son and to 'come and cook for her'. Here marriage (of F to G) is with the mother's mother's brother's daughter. When such girl is actually married bride-price will again pass. If, in such a marriage, the woman were to run away or if there were a divorce, both bride-prices could be claimed, as we saw in the 1930's. Today, however, probably as a result of European administrative policy, only one bride-price is paid back, though it is commonly known that both used to be returned.

Besides marriage with the mother's mother's brother's daughter, other variations of mother's brother's daughter marriage are found, such as marriage with the mother's brother's son's daughter (one generation below), with the father's mother's brother's daughter or even with a father's mother's brother's son's daughter.

The fact that in the above example of marriage with the mother's mother's brother's daughter two lots of bride-price are handed over yet only one bride is received, indicates that the economic aspect is not paramount; it is the permanent link

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between descendants of brother and sister that is valued. In cases where a man has received cattle on the 'security' of a small girl, to all appearances a predominantly economic transaction, the creditor also hands over cattle a second time when the girl comes over to be married. This is puzzling. When asked about it the Lobedu usually quote the proverb '*mobula ndo oa nywala*—the opener or establisher of a "house" pays marriage cattle', i.e., every girl commands bride-price. The explanation possibly lies in regarding the passing of property in the case of wife No. 2 of D in Figure 2a and also the first handing over of property in an economic transaction on the security of a girl as the creation of a cattle-link similar to handing over to a brother the bride-price of his sister to acquire

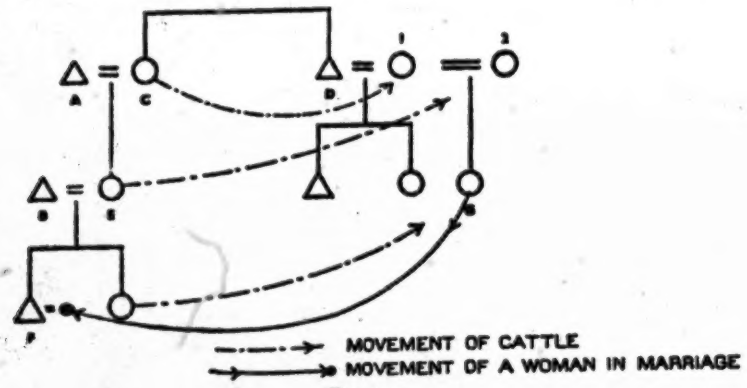

FIG. 2A.

a wife. The subsequent transactions are then on a par with ordinary preferential marriage between the children of cattle-linked brother and sister.

If, in contrast to the case illustrated in Figure 2a where the cattle-linked sister has no son to marry her brother's daughter, it is the brother who has no daughter to give in marriage to his sister's son then sometimes, as in a recent case, the preferred marriage takes place in the next generation. Here (see Figure 2b) the daughter (G) of the son of C's cattle-linked half-brother (D) married the son (F) of the son of the cattle-linked sister (C). In this case E had a brother to use her cattle and there was no need for her cattle to be sent to the mother's brother to establish a new 'house' or 'open a gate', as it is sometimes phrased.

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its males is counter-balanced by a 'knitting' together of the men with their sisters who have married out and a strengthening of their ties with their maternal kin by means of preferential marriage supported by cattle links. This process is illustrated in Figure 9.

The proportion of mother's brother's daughter marriages in its various forms to the total number of marriages among two generations of members of a large lineage which was analysed in detail (counting the marriage of each woman in a polygynous union as a separate marriage) was 34 per cent, of which 91 per cent were marriages with the mother's uterine brother and its derivations. If married men were to be considered, the proportion would be higher, 63 per cent of the married men having contracted at least one mother's brother's daughter marriage; 80 per cent of these were (or were based on) marriage with the mother's uterine brother's daughter. This tallies with a random sample of 100 cases taken in 1936 in the royal area (excluding the Capital itself) in which 67 per cent of the married men were found to have married a mother's brother's daughter. But the situation had materially altered by 1962 when a similar sample of 243 cases in the same area showed mother's brother's daughter marriages to have decreased from 67 per cent to 34 per cent. Of these 94 per cent were with the mother's uterine brother or his descendants, which indicates that despite strong forces making for change and increased opportunities for contacts with strangers of the opposite sex which have greatly diminished marriage with distant maternal kin, the values attached to 'knitting' together close relatives are still strong. The most potent forces at work for breaking down preferential marriage are Christianity, which condemns it and school education which by inculcating Western values makes preferential marriage unthinkable to any school child today however short a period he has spent at school.

That men consciously use marriage to keep alive family relationships and that they are deeply concerned about these alliances, can be seen from the case of Modidi (M) in Figure 7.

M's homestead abutted on that of V, whose half-sister K he had married (see Figure 7). When they were both old. M took his granddaughter L, (his son by V's half-sister K having died years before) to his friend V saying, 'I see we are in danger of

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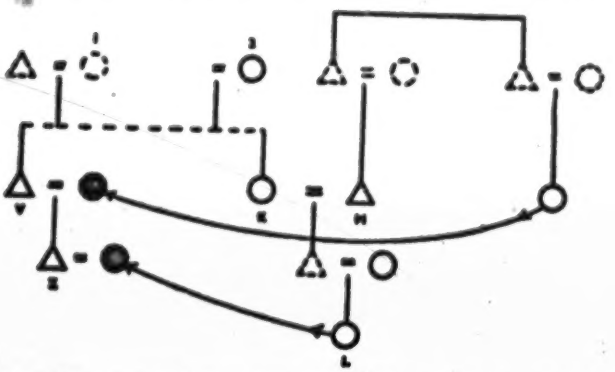

FIG. 7. An arranged marriage (Z to L) to 'knit together' the families of two affines.

growing apart (separating). Here is my son's daughter. Let us knit together the family (*ruka leloko*) else soon we shall be lost to one another'. So Z, the son of V, married L, M's granddaughter. It is interesting to note that while M had married V's half-sister, V had also married a 'sister' of M (M's father's brother's daughter), a case of 'brother-sister' exchange which is very rare among the Lobedu. Z was thus marrying his mother's 'brother's' son's daughter, who was at the same time also his father's half-sister's son's daughter.

Marriage from generation to generation with the uterine brother's daughter has important consequences for ancestor worship. It leads to a merging of ancestors on the father's and mother's sides so that they become *moloko o motse*—one lineage, as the Lobedu phrase it, with identical ancestors in at least two of the four grandparents' families. If a diviner diagnoses an illness as due to someone in a man's father's mother's lineage (which in the case of two generations of mother's brother's daughter marriages will be the same as the mother's father's lineage), then a man's mother, or even his wife, could officiate in a beer-offering in his homestead to the ancestors concerned. The Lobedu call upon and give offerings on different occasions to all four grandparents and other deceased members of their lineages. It is interesting to note that the mother's mother who never becomes by virtue of preferential marriage an ancestor common to both sides of the family and might thus be in danger of being left out, makes herself very much felt in practice. She

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Conclusion

Emerging clearly from this study is the fundamental role of property in maintaining the distinctive features of Lobedu social structure. The scarcity of cattle among the Lobedu and the fact that they play little part in subsistence, coupled with an attitude to property which makes its accumulation of little interest and in which economic aspects of property are not always clearly distinguished from the social relationships it creates and maintains—all these factors make for a social system in which the main function of cattle is their use as bride-price and in which women can be used in quasi-economic transactions without their status being in any way depressed thereby.

The independence of the 'house', a basic feature of the Lobedu lineage, likewise rests upon property, a husband being subject to strong sanctions to respect the economic independence of each house as against other similar units. Both husband and wife have an interest in the development of the 'house' as an entity. From the point of view of the husband each house, besides increasing his following and adding to his prestige, also adds to the number and strength of his relations with affines upon whom he can count for economic help and as friends and allies. '*Ba djealane ke ba khonane*—people who marry one another are people who agree', it is said when a man has the support of his affines. To the wife her 'house' is a means of personal fulfilment and advancement. She has considerable say over the property of her 'house'; everything she does for its advancement is for the benefit of her own sons, its heirs; the bride-price of her daughters ensures an old age free from arduous toil, while the marriage of her sons brings in addition the prestige and control that a mother has in the households of her sons and their wives. The 'house' is the most important unit in the structure of the husband's lineage yet at the same time has strong economic and social links with the wife's family.

An important principle in the social structure is preferential marriage between the son of a sister and the daughter of her uterine brother who has used her bride-price. This form of marriage and the moral right of a sister to a daughter-in-law from the 'house' established by her marriage cattle are on the

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one hand a means of binding the women of the lineage, even after their marriage, by strong links to their father's family and on the other of maintaining from generation to generation the bonds with the maternal kin created by the marriage of the parents.

A woman has a dual role in the social structure. On the one hand by establishing a 'house' in her husband's lineage, she is the means whereby his lineage is perpetuated and its numbers increased; for even after the death of her husband his brothers will raise seed to his name and in the absence of sons she can herself ensure the continuation of her husband's lineage by marrying a woman on behalf of a fictitious son. On the other hand a woman remains important to her own lineage: if she is the eldest child of her 'house' she will officiate at all important religious offerings (if her brother is older he may officiate but she will always be called to collaborate with him); when she dies her name and those of her sisters will be included among the names of ancestors called upon in prayer; she divides out the inheritance on the death of her uterine brother; she guards the interests of the children of her cattle-linked brother's 'house' whence she will obtain a daughter-in-law; upon her falls the responsibility in the absence of her parents of providing an heir in her mother's 'house' (of her father's lineage) should there be no son; and she may even act in the place of her deceased father as ruler over a district until the heir is of age or until one can be raised.

The maintenance of links with married sisters and its complement marriage with the mother's uterine brother's daughter, by means of which one's links with one's wife's (or mother's) family are perpetuated, are supreme values in Lobedu society. That is why a wife who has no son has little difficulty in persuading her husband to hand over her daughter's bride-price to her brother rather than create links with a strange family. It is possible thereby to 'build a house' (or 'make a gate') at her brother's home from which her daughter's son will obtain a wife. This may at first sight appear to be very like the transfer of rights from mother to daughter but this is not the case. It is made possible by the transfer of cattle belonging to the daughter's husband and is bound up with the great desire to maintain links between the descendants of brother and sister. The right

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of a woman to 'someone to stamp for her' from the 'house' created by her bride-price also enables the father of a woman who has no uterine brother to control to some extent, by the placement of his daughter's cattle, the marriage of her sons. Her husband 'follows the tracks of his cattle' to find a wife for his son but it is her father who determines where these 'tracks' will lead to.

There are thus to be found in Lobedu social structure a neat balance between the various kinds of kin; a combination of patrilineal principles with strong matrilineal bonds; a merging of ancestors on the father's and mother's side of the family; and an equality in the importance of paternal and maternal kin which is seen on all social and ritual occasions and is reflected also in the composition of local groups.

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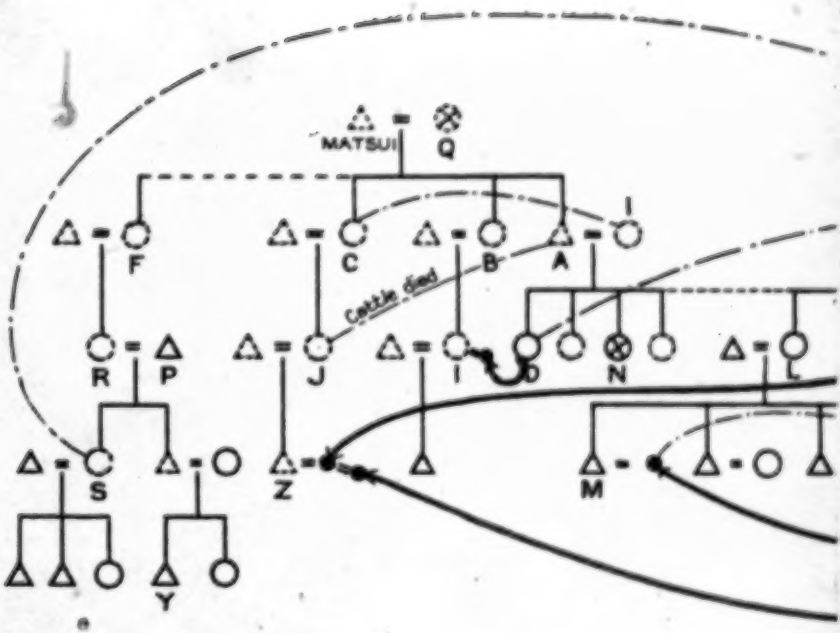

Indicates deceased.
Indicates half-siblings.
Indicates full siblings.
Indicates preferred wife.

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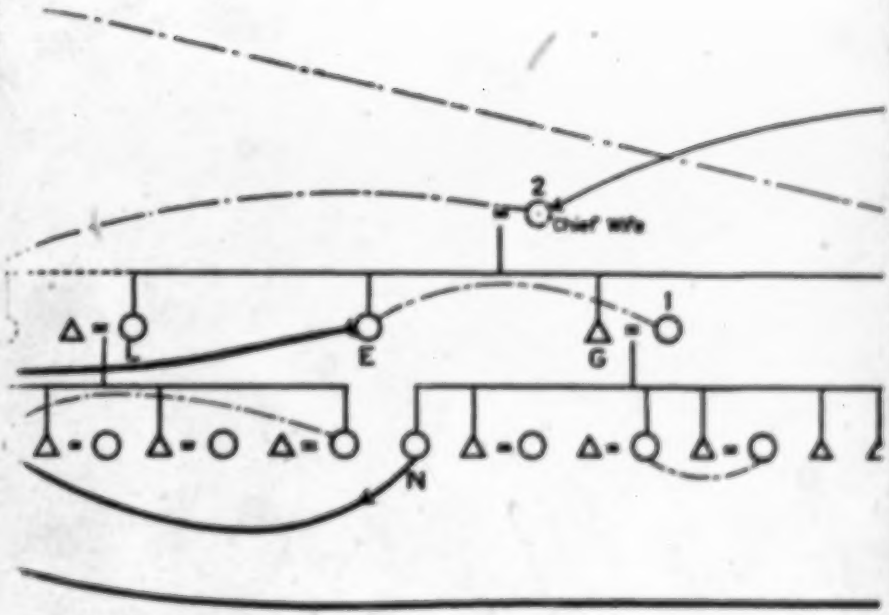

Indicates cattle-link between a wife and the husband's female relative with

Indicates passage of a woman in marriage. Single lines denote incoming wives
Double lines denote outgoing females marrying a father's sister or her de

Indicates women marriage of a girl with a married female relation.

Indicates a woman who is or has been a motsanoni ('wife') of the queen.

[p. 192-B]

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

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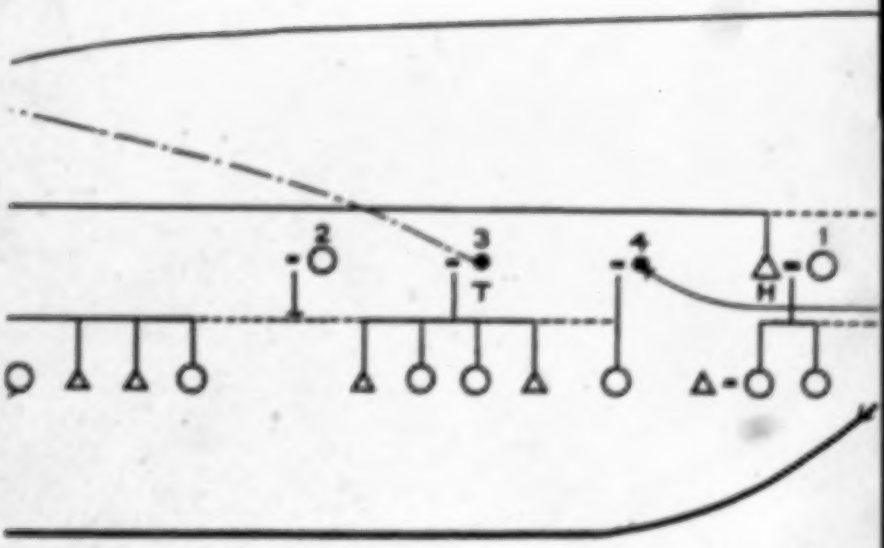

relative with whose cattle she was acquired.
receiving wives from the same lineage.
ther or her descendant.
lation.
the queen.

FIG. 9. Preferential marriages and cattle links in a line

[A.192-C]

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

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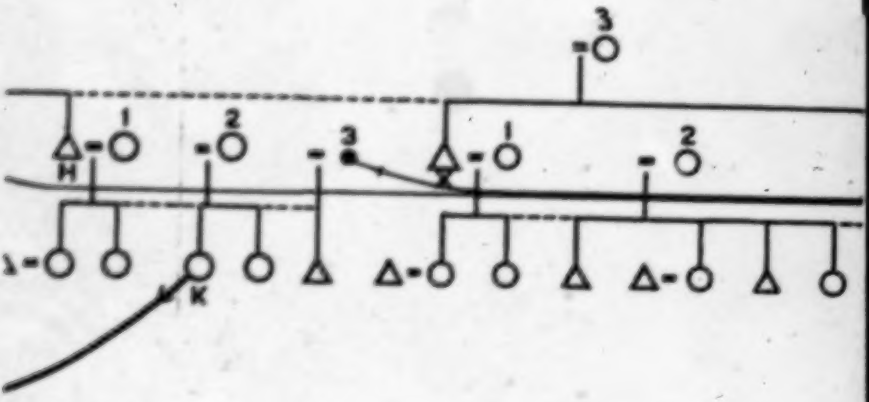

• links in a lineage-segment.

[p. 192-3]

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

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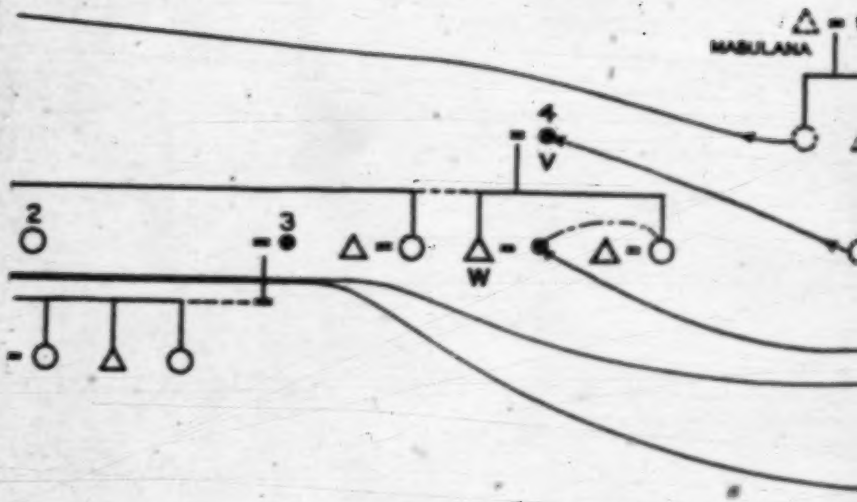

[Q.192-E]

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

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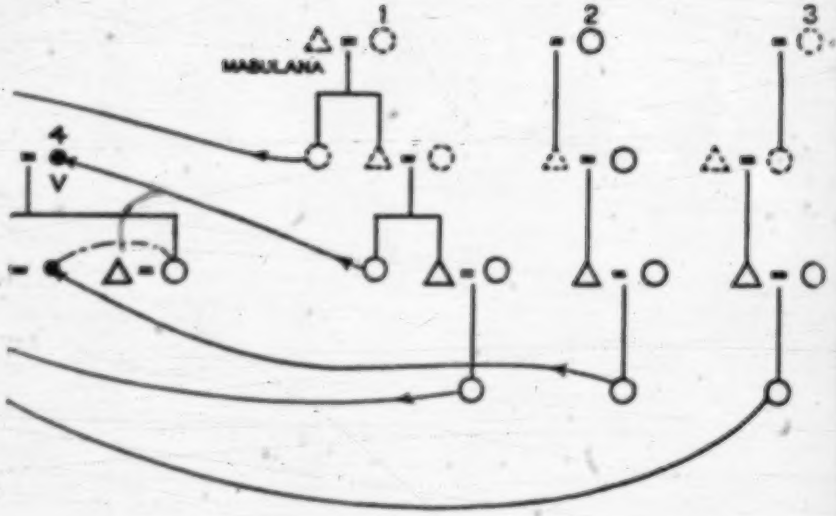

[p.192-F]

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

LOBEDU PROPERTY, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

APPENDIX I

THE manner in which many of the characteristics of Lobedu marriage arrangements operate in practice is illustrated in the case of the lineage segment of A and his descendants set out in Figure 9. The arrows in the diagram all represent the passage of women in preferential marriage from their parental home to that of their husband: single arrows indicate women of the mother's brother's family (i.e., the Mabulanas) who have married into A's lineage (Matsui); double arrows indicate the departure of women of A's lineage to marry at their father's sister's. The following are points to be noted:

(a) The tendency for Lobedu polygynists to marry more than one wife from the same family is seen in Figure 9 in A's marriage to his fourth wife who was his second wife's brother's daughter.

(b) The manner in which cross-cousin marriage perpetuates links with the wife's kin down the generations is illustrated by the marriages of A's sons G, H, W and X. G's fourth wife, H's third wife and W's first wife all come from the same lineage, that of their mothers (A's second and fourth wives). A's son X's third wife is also his uterine cross-cousin but it was not practicable to indicate her family of origin also in the diagram.

(c) Besides reinforcing links with the maternal kin, mother's brother's daughter marriage serves also to knit together descendants of a man and his sisters. The bonds between A and his sisters B and C have been kept alive over a span of two generations of their descendants by the marriage of A's daughter D to I (daughter of his sister B) as indicated by the double arrow in Figure 9, and the marriage of A's daughter E to Z (son of J, and grandson of A's sister, C). Similarly G's daughter N by his first wife is married to the son (M) of his sister L (see double arrows), and H's daughter K is married to her father's sister E, widow of Z, a marriage which took place in 1961.

(d) The part played by cattle links in ensuring preferential marriage is also illustrated in the diagram; but it is clear too that children of brother and sister who are *not* cattle-linked often also marry one another. Z married E because of cattle-links two generations above him as is explained below. But when E grew old and needed a 'wife' G had no suitable daughter; so H's daughter K 'married' her. Cattle-links also did not account for the marriage of A's daughter, D, to his sister I, nor of G's daughter N to his sister L's son M. These indicate the tremendous value attached to maintaining links with married sisters. The reasons for the marriage of

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938,1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

E to Z are complicated and indicate how personal and other factors may interfere with the best-laid cattle-linking arrangements. C, the cattle-linked sister of E's father, A, had no son; so C gave the bride-price of her only daughter, J, to her brother A in accordance with procedure described in the text of this essay. All but one of these cattle died shortly after and then A said he did not want the cattle. C then tried to establish a 'house' with her daughter's cattle by handing over the remaining head of cattle to a classificatory brother (her father's half-brother's son). Her husband augmented this head of cattle by others obtained with his earnings from migrant labour. Unfortunately, however, these cattle instead of being used for marriage were 'eaten' (squandered) by her 'brother' and the whole plan came to nothing. Now, because E's father A had used C's cattle to marry his first wife and then had married E's mother with the bride-price of D (a daughter of his marriage to his first wife), therefore A, repenting of his earlier treatment of C and realizing he was indirectly indebted to C (and J) also for his second wife (mother of E), sent his daughter E to 'cook for J' (C's daughter) and marry her son.

(e) An example of the judicious placement of cattle for purposes of promoting marriage alliances between one's own male descendants and the daughters of a friend or relative in a preferred family is to be found in the action of P in Figure 9, who was married to R the daughter of A's half-sister F. After his son's death he gave his daughter S's, bride-price to G (a descendant of his wife's mother's brother) who acquired his third wife T with it. P has thus 'built a house' (that of T) where his son's son Y will find a wife.

(f) Three instances of the marriage of a woman to another woman are to be found in the lineage-segment of A—that of D to I, that of K to E, widow of Z; and that of A's daughter N to the queen. In the first case I wished to raise an heir to her deceased brother, in whose place she was ruling a district; in the second case E had daughters but no son and she wished to have someone to 'cook for' her; in the case of N, her father A as district headman had sent his daughter to be a *motanosi* of the queen.

(g) That the same lineage can be both wife-receiving and wife-giving in respect of the queen is illustrated by the fact that A's father had received in marriage from the queen a wife Q but A had also sent his daughter N to marry the queen.

5:Krige E-5 (1936-1938, 1961-1962) 1964
FX14 Lovedu FX14

LOBEDU PROPERTY, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

(h) The incidence of cross-cousin marriage and its variations in two generations of descendants of A (counting only the actual members of his lineage as shown in Figure 9) over a time-span of over sixty years (i.e., from about 1895 to 1962) was 31 per cent (nine out of twenty-nine marriages).

The arrangements in the above lineage segment are by no means unusual. This lineage is that of a district head, but it is representative of numbers of cases that could be chosen from among non-Christian traditionalists who still form the majority of the tribe.

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